Chapter

# 19

# Future Visions of Canada

Canadians have many diverse cultures, ways of life, ethnicities, and beliefs. Despite this diversity, we all have some things in common. We share a common territory, we abide by the same laws, and we are granted the same freedoms. Do we collectively share a national identity? If so, what is it? Does it matter if Canada's national identity is defined differently by different Canadians? Do our ideas regarding Canada's identity influence how we view Canada's future?

## Chapter Issue

**To what extent should you appreciate and promote personal and collective visions of national identity in Canada?**

In this chapter you will focus on various perspectives regarding Canada's identity in the future. How do we as Canadians envision Canada in the future? How is Canada viewed internationally? What does the future hold for Canadians?

There are many visions for a future Canada. This chapter presents a number of perspectives on Canadian identity and some predictions for our future. In the course of this chapter you will explore different perspectives on national identity and develop your own ideas about what it means to be a Canadian, now and in the future. The following inquiry questions will be used to guide your exploration:

- What are various perspectives regarding Canada's identity in the future?
- What are various perspectives regarding visions of Canada's future global identity?
- How do you view your identity as a citizen of Canada?

Figure 19-1

By examining these areas of inquiry and those in previous chapters, you will develop a position on the Main Issue for Part 4 (chapters 16–19): ***To what extent should individuals and groups in Canada embrace a national identity?***

SKILL PATH

## Persuasively Expressing Your Viewpoint

When you are researching to arrive at a response to a question, it is not unusual to develop a strong point of view based on a number of supporting facts and well-developed arguments that lead you to a defendable conclusion. Sometimes, you need to convince others of the value of your conclusions. In these cases, you need to be able to present your information, your conclusions, and a synopsis of your research so as to guide your audience to consider your conclusions. These steps will help you persuade your audience through effective presentations.

**Step 1** **Identify Your Presentation Parameters**

As you prepare for a presentation, ask yourself:

- Who is your audience? Are you speaking to peers? To a teacher? To a general audience? Plan accordingly.
- How much time do you have to present? The time you have available will help you determine what information is most important for building sound arguments, and where to place it in your presentation.

**Step 2** **Plan and Practise**

Consider the following strategies as you plan and prepare your presentation:

- You may want to sort your supporting ideas from most important to least important. This way, you can prioritize your presentation so that if something causes your presentation to be cut short, you will have given your most powerful information to your audience. Alternatively, you may want to finish your presentation with your most powerful, most convincing idea to seal your position.
- Decide what forms of technology you will use for your visuals. These can range from writing on a board to using presentation software or video clips, or creating a blog. Whatever form you choose, make sure it is appropriate to your topic.

**Figure 19-2** ▶

Do not try to memorize your presentation. Often, this will make you sound stilted and unnatural to your audience. Instead, create a series of easy-to-read notes that highlight the most important points you want to convey. Use them as a reminder of the structure and content of your presentation—do not read from them word for word.

- Practise well before your presentation so that you can incorporate any feedback from your friends into your final presentation. You can also record yourself and look for distracting body language and "word whiskers." Overuse of such word whiskers as "um," "er," "like," and "you know" can detract from your presentation, and practice can help you avoid them.
- Prepare your visuals well in advance. Make sure they enhance—rather than detract from—your presentation. Make the visuals easy to read, concise, and relevant to your presentation. Test any technology beforehand and ensure you know how to use it.

**Step 3** **Make It Interesting**

In planning your presentation, look for ways to "grab" your audience. *How* you present is as important as *what* you present.

- Be original, and introduce your presentation with flair. Engage your audience with something unexpected. If you catch their interest right away, they are far more likely to listen to the content you are conveying.
- Speak slowly. One common error many people make when presenting is to speak too quickly. Nervousness can be a factor, and practice can help you slow things down.

- Speak clearly. It is important that everyone in your audience can hear you. If you speak with clear diction and with sufficient volume, it will help you get all your points across.

**Step 4**

**Presentation Feedback**

Once you have completed your presentation, it is useful to determine how effective you were. If there is time for questions afterwards, make sure to include the whole audience. Repeat, or at least paraphrase, each question from the audience. This way, everyone will be able to hear and understand both the question and your response. Once you have answered, confirm with the person who asked the question that you have responded to their question.

You can also distribute a feedback form that you have created to address the specific presentation. Make sure the form is easy to fill out. You might use a checklist or a scale that the audience will be able to understand easily. Ask questions about the form of your presentation, the quality of your arguments, and the validity of your conclusion. Use the feedback to help you refine future presentations.

**Practise It!**

Now that you have a sense of how to present persuasively, follow the steps in this Skill Path to plan, create, and present your answer to the following question in a three- to five-minute presentation: What will Canada's national identity be in 20 years?

# Visions of Canadian Identity

*Question for Inquiry*

- **What are various perspectives regarding Canada's identity in the future?**

As you have seen throughout this text, Canadians are a diverse people with many understandings of what it means to be Canadian. It is not surprising that Canadians also have different views on what the future holds for Canada, and how the nation is changing. In this section you will explore visions of Canada as a pluralistic society, a multinational model of Canada, and a separatist view of Canada.

## Canada as a Pluralistic Society

*Pluralism* is a form of society in which members of different groups are encouraged to maintain their independent cultural traditions and where differences are valued and protected. Pluralism emphasizes the importance of diversity and respect for differences, as well as the need for social cohesion. Many Canadians and people around the world view Canada as a model pluralistic society and expect the nation to grow even more pluralistic in the future.

As Canada evolves and grows through immigration, the fabric of the land is changed. Canada today is nothing like Canada even 50 years ago. The ethnic structure of the nation has moved from primarily

English and French to a mosaic of the world's people and a recognition of the Aboriginal peoples. As the face of Canada changes, pluralism allows for the diversity of perspectives and experiences to be honoured within a Canadian context, while at the same time ensuring a society that respects individual and collective rights and democratic principles.

As a pluralistic nation, Canada accepts immigrants from around the world. The challenge we face as Canadians is: What can we do to include new Canadians, while at the same time honouring the culture, histories, and shared values of multi-generational Canadians?

At the time of the 2001 census, 5 448 485 foreign-born permanent residents were living in Canada, representing 18.4 per cent of the total population.[1] In 2002, 229 091 immigrants and refugees entered Canada with the goal of becoming permanent residents. The Canadian government has set immigration targets at between 220 000 and 245 000 new permanent residents per year.[2] In recent years, most new immigrants to Canada have come from China, India, Pakistan, the Philippines, South Korea, the United States, Iran, Romania, the United Kingdom, and Colombia.

Each year, approximately 160 000 people become Canadian citizens by taking an oath of citizenship.[3] This oath represents a personal commitment to accept the responsibilities and privileges of Canadian citizenship.

In one sense, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms captures the essence of being Canadian, as it formalizes the individual and collective rights of all Canadians. It promotes a pluralistic society by building on values such as

- a commitment to respecting difference and fostering inclusiveness
- an understanding of and appreciation for shared values
- a respect for democratic principles and processes

The Charter is intended to provide all Canadians with a sense of connectedness so that we may live together in a diverse yet inclusive society.

**Figure 19-3** ▲

Immigrant population growth in Canada tends to be concentrated in or near large cities.

**PAUSE AND REFLECT**

**How has Canada's history of immigration affected the identity of the nation? How do recent Canadian immigration policies make Canada a more pluralistic nation?**

1 Citizenship and Immigration Canada, "Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration 2004," 28 October 2004. http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/immigration2004.asp.

2 Citizenship and Immigration Canada, "Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration 2003," 29 October 2003. http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/immigration2003.asp.

3 Citizenship and Immigration Canada, "You Asked about . . . Immigration and Citizenship," 1 November 2005. http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/you-asked/section25.asp.

## Ideas and Opinions

From the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms:

> *2. Everyone has the following fundamental freedoms:*
>
> *a) freedom of conscience and religion;*
>
> *b) freedom of thought, belief, opinion and expression, including freedom of the press and other media of communication;*
>
> *c) freedom of peaceful assembly; and*
>
> *d) freedom of association …*
>
> *27. This Charter shall be interpreted in a manner consistent with the preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians.*[4]

How does the Charter of Rights and Freedoms promote a pluralistic society? Why might the Charter be concerned with the "preservation and enhancement of the multicultural heritage of Canadians"?

### Fast Facts

The Global Centre for Pluralism, in Ottawa, is an international initiative of His Highness the Aga Khan, 49th hereditary Imam (spiritual leader) of Ismaili Muslims. The centre is "founded on the premise that tolerance, openness and understanding towards the cultures, social structures, values and faiths of other peoples are now essential to the very survival of an interdependent world. Pluralism is no longer simply an asset or a prerequisite for progress and development. It is vital to our existence."[5]

## Social Cohesion in a Pluralistic Society

Any vision of Canada as a pluralistic society must address the issue of *social cohesion*. If diversity and multiculturalism are promoted, how does Canada bring people together in a way that does not compromise their identities or cultural heritage? Does respecting diversity help bring us together as a nation?

Many share the view that the collective good is best served by accepting and respecting diversity. Accepting and respecting diversity can help build a collective identity. People who feel accepted and respected are more likely to feel they are part of a nation and to develop an attachment and a sense of belonging. People who have a sense of belonging may be more willing to contribute to making their country a better place.

Accepting and respecting diversity reflects the fundamental beliefs of Canadian society as expressed in the Charter of Rights and Freedoms. In Canada, governments have tried to promote cultural respect and the embracing of diversity, which promotes ethnic harmony and intercultural understanding. Have these efforts eliminated some ethnic and racially based discrimination and violence?

4 From: http://laws.justice.gc.ca/en/charter.

5 From: http://www.pluralism.ca.

## Multiculturalism and Canadian Identity

Due to increasing immigration and government policy, has multiculturalism become part of the national identity of Canadians?

The Canadian Heritage website says of multiculturalism:

*In 1971, Canada was the first country in the world to adopt multiculturalism as an official policy. By so doing, Canada affirmed the value and dignity of all Canadian citizens regardless of their racial or ethnic origins, their language, or their religious affiliation. The 1971 Multiculturalism Policy of Canada also confirmed the rights of Aboriginal peoples and the status of Canada's two official languages … Our diversity is a national asset. Recent advances in technology have made international communications more important than ever. Canadians who speak many languages and understand many cultures make it easier for Canada to participate globally in areas of education, trade and diplomacy.*[6]

Michael Adams, an author and the head of Environics, a leading opinion research firm, states:

*Not only do Canadians feel that multiculturalism is a central part of their country's identity, it's also increasingly a source of pride. In 1985 we asked Canadians to tell us in their own words what made them proud to be Canadian. Multiculturalism was in tenth place. People were more likely to cite the beauty of the land, Canada's natural resources and even the physical size of the country. By 2006, though, multiculturalism had climbed to second place. Only Canada's democracy is more often named as a source of national pride.*[7]

1. How do these quotations support the idea of Canada as a pluralistic society?
2. Is multiculturalism part of what makes Canada unique? How might promoting multiculturalism shape Canada in the future?

There are still tensions in Canada resulting from diversity. Equality of opportunity is one such tension. In a diverse society, it is important that people work together to address problems that have the potential to disadvantage a particular group. It is necessary to give people a voice, and constitutional measures have been established to enable people to speak out and be heard. Although these measures are legally established, it is common attitudes—such as respect and acceptance—that will give people a voice in their communities.

As Canada evolves as a pluralistic society, it faces challenges to its social cohesion. Canadians must consider for whom social cohesion is a goal—the people or the nation-state? Should all Canadian citizens identify with the nation-state or should their identity be more nation-based? Can Canadians have a shared vision of a desirable future and of how to achieve that future?

### Pause and Reflect

**How might Francophones and Aboriginal peoples feel about Canada as a pluralistic society? How has increasing diversity presented both opportunities and challenges for a national identity in Canada?**

6 Canadian Heritage, "Multiculturalism—Canadian Multiculturalism: An Inclusive Citizenship," 23 May 2007. http://www.pch.gc.ca/progs/multi/inclusive_e.cfm.

7 Michael Adams, quoted in Canscene News, "A Book to Remember," 1 December 2007. http://canscene.ripple.ca/?p=572.

## Is Pluralism a Marketing Ploy?

Many politicians are eager to promote a sense of cohesiveness and recognize all of the groups that contribute to an ideal vision of Canada. When Elizabeth II signed the Canada Act in 1982, Prime Minister Trudeau said in a speech:

*It is my deepest hope that Canada will match its new legal maturity with that degree of political maturity which will allow us to make a total commitment to the Canadian ideal. I speak of a Canada where men and women of Aboriginal ancestry, of French and British heritage, of the diverse cultures of the world, demonstrate the will to share this land in peace, in justice, and with mutual respect.*[8]

However, author, journalist, and activist Naomi Klein questions whether or not the vision of Canada as a pluralistic, multicultural nation is authentic:

*If many Canadians feel a superficial connection to their chosen country, it may be because they have never really been invited to go deeper—to enter the closed club of essential Canadianness still largely defined by the ups and downs of Anglo-French and East-West relations …*

*The true flaw of multiculturalism is not that it encourages segregation, but that it helps disguise it by allowing our political elites to point to colourful displays of officially sponsored ethnicity as evidence that we, as a nation, have outgrown our colonial mind-set. Multiculturalism is … a pay-off: paying ethnic groups to stay out of the way. By encouraging the creation of walled-off ethnic theme parks, the gatekeepers of Canada keep the competition occupied and protect their turf.*

*If official multiculturalism has failed, it is because we have tried to accomplish the impossible: to embrace diversity while clinging to old notions of ethnic superiority. As a result, multiculturalism in Canada is little more than marketing.*[9]

1. Is it possible to develop a deep understanding of Canada that includes, in a meaningful way, all minorities? Does our current vision of multiculturalism help accomplish this or do you agree with Naomi Klein? Explain.

## Canada as a Multinational Model

A *multinational model* includes a structure of government that has semi-autonomous—or almost independent—nations functioning within a central union. Based on the strength of the individual nations that exist in Canada and its strong regional diversity, many people believe that Canada has or is headed toward a multinational model of government.

One could make the case that the structure of Canada's government in itself promotes a multinational model. Canadian federalism is a political system in which a central authority, the federal

8 Pierre Trudeau, "Remarks at the Proclamation Ceremony," 17 April 1982. http://www.collectionscanada.ca/2/4/h4-4024-e.html.

9 Naomi Klein, "Article Two," on The Great Canadian Questions Homepage. http://www.greatquestions.com/e/q2_klein_2.html.

government, has parliamentary powers important to the nation as a whole, while the provinces and territories have legislative assemblies and responsibilities for regional concerns. Canadian federalism was deemed the best system for the new country because of Canada's distinct French and English communities. Over time, some of the centralized power in Ottawa has been dispersed to the provinces and territories. Whether or not this devolution of powers to the provinces will continue is a matter yet to be decided.

**Figure 19-4** ▲

Montréal is home to many people who do not have a French-Canadian heritage. How might these Quebeckers feel about Québec separating from Canada?

## Ideas and Opinions

Will Kymlicka, visiting Professor of Philosophy at both the University of Ottawa and Carleton University, sees a Canadian multinational government as a solution to the conflict between the different nations of Canada:

> *English-speaking Canadians and the Québécois will not agree on a division of powers; their national identities are too much in conflict. Since English-speaking Canadians can only act on their national identity through the federal government, they will reject any form of decentralization which they see as reducing the federal government's ability to express a common national identity and develop national programs. Since the Québécois can only act on their national identity through the provincial government, they will reject any offer that does not block, and indeed reverse, federal intervention in areas of social policy. To many commentators, this is the tragic dilemma of Canadian politics … to accommodate both of these political identities. We need to find a form of federalism that allows Quebeckers (and Aboriginal peoples) to act on their sense of national political identity, without preventing English speaking Canadians from acting on their deeply-felt desire to act as a collectivity, and not simply as discrete provinces. We need, in short, to find some form of asymmetrical multinational federalism.*[10]
>
> **—Will Kymlicka, "Multinational Federalism in Canada: Rethinking the Partnership," *Policy Options* (March 1998): 5–9.**

Think about Kymlicka's term "asymmetrical multinational federalism." What might this mean for Canada's future, given the varying perspectives outlined above?

### Pause and Reflect

**If Canada proceeds with a multinational model of government, will it continue to have a national identity? If so, how might this national identity change?**

Under a multinational model, national minorities such as Québécois and First Nations could have some self-government. Québécois leaders have been fighting for this level of independence for many years, and recently made progress with Prime Minister Harper's recognition of the Québécois as a distinct society. First Nations have also been fighting for

10 From: http://www.irpp.org/po/archive/mar98/kymlicka.pdf.

their right to self-determination and self-government. A multinational model of government would support both these groups in their quests to determine their economic, social, and cultural identities.

## Aboriginal Self-Determination

Aboriginal self-determination is the right of Aboriginal nations to freely determine their political status and freely pursue economic, social, and cultural development. Ovide Mercredi, former national chief of the Assembly of First Nations and current Chief of Grand Rapids First Nation in Manitoba, describes his feelings toward self-determination:

> *Governments failed once again to understand that recognizing Aboriginal peoples as equals in the process of reforming Canada is the road to justice and reconciliation. There is no other. Without Aboriginal peoples' participation, no one will ever find the elusive medicine needed to cure disharmony, separation and regional conflict. To find peace between Québec and the rest of the country without securing unity with Aboriginal peoples would be to do as the white fathers of confederation did in Charlottetown: to build a country for two races, ignoring the original peoples as if they were irrelevant, a hindrance to the dream of building a new country.*
>
> *Do the white politicians not realize that the future belongs to everybody, not just a select few? Aboriginal peoples have a human right to shape their own destiny as distinct peoples; the continued exclusion of Aboriginal peoples diminishes the great potential and glory of this country as a haven for people from different cultures.*[11]

**Pause and Reflect**

**Based on this quotation, do you think Mercredi would agree that Canada is a truly pluralistic society?**

**Figure 19-5**

The Oka Crisis of 1990, which began with a Mohawk protest of the building of a golf course on their traditional lands, brought the issue of Aboriginal self-determination to the foreground.

The historical treaties that were signed between the Canadian government and Canada's Aboriginal peoples acknowledge the self-government of Aboriginal nations, but that recognition has eroded over time. Aboriginal self-government is not something that Aboriginals are asking the federal government to grant to them. Rather, it is something they would like the federal government to acknowledge *already exists*. Self-government is the right of a nation to control and manage matters that directly affect its people and their cultural identities. Many Aboriginals see self-government as having been given to them by the Creator, and view it as part of their spiritual connection to the land.

11 Ovide Mercredi, "Betraying a Higher Vision," in R. Griffiths (ed.), *Great Questions of Canada* (Toronto: Stoddart, 2000), pp. 111–112.

Discussions about the recognition of self-government for First Nations are ongoing, and a number of First Nations have signed self-government agreements. As you have seen in earlier chapters, land claims form an important part of the pursuit of self-government for First Nations. With land claim agreements in place, the First Nations would have the capital required to implement self-government. As Aboriginal political leader Georges Erasmus said, "The economic base for many Aboriginal nations is to be found in the potential for wealth standing on, lying under, or flowing through their traditional territories."[12]

## Ideas and Opinions

In a 2002 speech, Georges Erasmus, who was one of the spokespersons of the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples, spoke about the importance of self-government. He concluded his speech with a view to the future:

*"The words of Zebedee Nungak, an Inuit leader speaking in the final moments of a First Ministers' meeting in 1987 ring true for many Aboriginal people today:*

*We continue to have a hope that this great country, which we embrace as our own, will have the sense and the decency—not that I doubt its decency—to someday, in my generation, recognize our rights, and complete the circle of Confederation, because if it is not going to be done in my generation, I have my son standing behind me who will take up the fight with your sons and your sons' sons.*

*The costs of conflict, in the courts and in society, are unsupportable. The costs of doing nothing escalate with each generation. We have the capacity to imagine a better future and we have the tools at hand to realize it. Let us decide now to pursue our common goals together, to achieve long life, health and wisdom for all, good relations and peace between peoples and respect for the earth that supports us."*[14]

**—Georges Erasmus, speech in the Lafontaine-Baldwin lecture series, Vancouver 2002**

What vision of Canada's future does Zebedee Nungak describe when he expresses the need to "complete the circle of Confederation"?

## Fast Facts

The establishment of a First Nations province was proposed by the Institute of Intergovernmental Relations in 1992. The Institute suggested that a First Nations province would not have formal territorial boundaries but would be dispersed throughout Canada. It would have a Legislature with jurisdiction over certain areas and would give First Nations people an opportunity to act as equals in all federal–provincial–territorial discussions.[13]

## Web Link

To find out more about the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples and its role in investigating issues brought to light by the Oka Crisis and the Meech Lake Accord, follow the links on the *Perspectives on Nationalism* website.

## Pause and Reflect

**Why is it important for Aboriginal peoples to have a say in Canada's future? Is a multinational model of government a solution to the issue of Aboriginal self-determination?**

12 Georges Erasmus, speech in the Lafontaine-Baldwin lecture series, Vancouver 2002. http://www.icc-icc.ca/en/projects/erasmus.php.

13 Thomas J. Courchene and Lisa Powell, *A First Nations Province* (Kingston, Ontario: Institute of Intergovernmental Relations, 1992).

14 Georges Erasmus, speech in the Lafontaine-Baldwin lecture series, Vancouver 2002. http://www.icc-icc.ca/en/projects/erasmus.php.

**Pause and Reflect**

**The political movement and the ideology behind the issue of Québec sovereignty continue to be strong today. How does the possibility of Québec's separation affect perspectives on Canadian identity?**

## Separatist Visions of Canada

*Separatism* can include a range of beliefs about how nations can coexist. For some separatists, a multinational model would fulfill their need for an independent voice. Other separatists feel their nation requires independence through the complete political separation of their land or region from the country that governs them. These latter separatists likely do not believe that Canada has achieved a pluralistic society, and may not believe that a pluralistic society is possible. For these separatists, the preservation of the economic, social, and cultural identities of their nation requires that they be fully independent and sovereign.

Separatists in Québec have formed the Parti Québécois and the Bloc Québécois to strive to make Québec an independent nation. These separatists would like an equal economic and political partnership with Canada. Two referendums have been held in Québec on the issue of separation from Canada, and both have returned the same result: No, Québec should not separate from Canada. Support for Québec separatist movements has ebbed and flowed throughout Canada's recent history, and may likely rise again unless a satisfactory agreement is made with the other regions of Canada.

In his book *The Nine Nations of North America*, written in 1981, Joel Garreau argues that North America can be divided into nine distinct nations based on economic and cultural characteristics. These nine nations are shown in the map in Figure 19-7.

**Figure 19-6** ▲

How strong do you think support for the formation of Cascadia is in Canada? Why would some of the people of this region wish to identify themselves as a separate people who are distinct from other Canadians and Americans? Does this scenario fit into your perspective regarding Canada's identity in the future?

### Ideas and Opinions

A movement currently exists with the goal of establishing The Republic of Cascadia, a separate nation-state that would include the states of Washington and Oregon and the province of British Columbia. On his website promoting the Republic of Cascadia, Lyle Zapato states:

> *Now is the time for the citizens of Cascadia to demand their freedom from the oppressive governments of Canada and the United States. For too long have our people put up with indifference and condescendence from distant seats of power. We have been subject to francophonic imperialism and wasteful spending of our tax money. Our entrepreneurs have been attacked by the so-called justice system for merely doing their jobs and growing our economy. When will we say enough is enough?*[15]

15 From: http://zapatopi.net/cascadia.

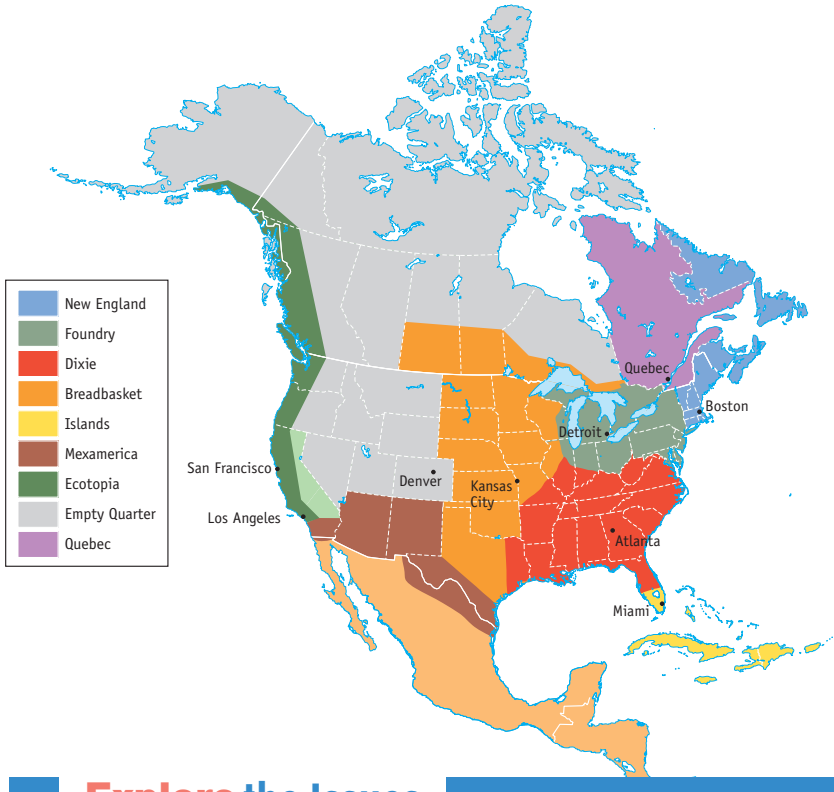


**Figure 19-7**

The nine nations of North America as outlined by Joel Garreau. Do the divisions shown in this map organize the people of North America in a more reasonable way than the three countries that exist today? What advantages and disadvantages could there be to dividing North America in this way? What does this view suggest about the national identities of Canada, the United States, and Mexico?

## Explore the Issues

1. List the various visions of Canada's future that were explored in this section. Is there a problem with reconciling some of these visions into a single vision for a future Canada? What are the biggest challenges posed by these competing visions?
2. Should the government promote a Canada "as it is" or a Canada "as it ought to be"?

# Canada's International Identity

*Question for Inquiry*

- **What are various perspectives regarding visions of Canada's future global identity?**

Canada's foreign policy and interactions with other countries around the world help shape a Canadian global identity, and this identity is defined by how we are viewed by other countries and our role in the world. Different countries, of course, have different views of Canadian identity, depending on their own histories, cultures, economics, and dealings with Canada. Some may feel that we are "too close"—both physically and economically—to the United States and could never act truly independently of them. Others may feel that we are closer to

Europeans in our government, social programs, and culture than we are to the United States. Many countries may identify with Canada due to the number of people from their countries who have emigrated here.

The future of Canada's international identity will be influenced by our relationship with the other countries of North America and by our leadership on the world stage. Our economic relationships with the United States and Mexico have recently become much more involved, thus influencing our identity as an independent country.

## How Is Canada Viewed by People from Other Countries?

The following are examples of how some different people around the world view Canada.

Prince Karim Aga Khan IV, Imam of the Shia Imami Ismaili Muslims, has said

*Canada has an experience of governance of which much of the world stands in dire need. It is a world of increasing dissension and conflict in which a significant contribution is the failure of different ethnic, tribal, religious, or social groups to search for, and agree upon, a common space for harmonious co-existence.*[16]

Actor and political activist Jane Fonda has said this about Canada:

*When I'm in Canada, I feel this is what the world should be like.*[17]

Valentyn Moroz, Ukrainian nationalist and historian, believes that:

*Canada is probably the most free country in the world where a man still has room to breathe, to spread out, to move forward, to move out, an open country with an open frontier Canada has created harmony and cooperation among ethnic groups, and it must take this experience to the world because there is yet to be such an example of harmony and cooperation among ethnic groups.*[18]

Finally, Pedro Gutierrez, a Cuban journalist, writer, and artist, addresses Canadians:

*You Canadians have given us such hope to carry on. We admire your bravery. You are the neighbour of such a rich, powerful country, and yet you don't mind clashing with them. Well, that gives us more confidence.*[19]

1. What is a common theme among these quotations? Why do you think these people feel this way about Canada?
2. How do the ideas expressed in the quotations by Moroz and Gutierrez relate to Canada's relationships with the countries of origin of these two people?
3. These quotations do not represent negative views of Canada's identity. What negative views of Canada might people around the world have? Why?

16 "Address by His Highness the Aga Khan at the "Leadership and Diversity Conference" Gatineau, Québec, Canada," 19 May 2004. http://www.akdn.org/speeches/20_ottawa190504.htm.

17 Jane Fonda, quoted in *Saturday Night* magazine, December 1987, as found in Mark Kearney and Randy Ray, *The Great Canadian Book of Lists* (Toronto: Dundurn Group, 1999), p 179.

18 Valentyn Moroz, quoted in "In Other Words—A Compendium of Canadian Quotations." http://www.canadian-politics.com/quotations/quotes.shtml.

19 Pedro Gutierrez, quoted in "In Other Words—A Compendium of Canadian Quotations." http://www.canadian-politics.com/quotations/quotes.shtml.

Our relationships with countries around the world have changed in recent times as we have attempted, in some capacity, to take a leadership role. As you review the following examples, keep in mind the various perspectives regarding Canada's developing global identity.

## North American Economic Integration

North American economic integration is one model regarding Canada's identity in the future and involves the elimination of barriers between North American nation-states, especially in trade, to create an economic union that harmonizes economic policies. Integration can take many forms, ranging from a simple agreement to eliminate trade barriers all the way to creating an economic union that seeks to create a unified currency and economic policy and laws. Opportunities related to economic integration focus on the economic advantage, but with these opportunities come challenges to national identities.

As all types of industry tend to be included in economic integration, including cultural industries, one challenge facing Canada as part of an integrated North America is: Can a nation that supports diversity coexist with one that sees itself primarily as a melting pot?

Clear differences exist between Canada and the United States. Besides the cultural differences based on different histories, cultural backgrounds, and government policies on diversity and multiculturalism, there are important economic distinctions between the two:

> *Canada has a more equal distribution of both earnings and after-tax (disposable) income. Our narrower distribution of earnings reflects higher unionization, somewhat higher minimum wages, and a smaller pay gap between the middle and the top of the earnings spectrum. More equal after-tax incomes and lower rates of poverty than in the U.S. reflect the impacts of a more 'generous' system of transfers acting upon a somewhat more equal distribution of market income. Public services are also more widespread in Canada than the U.S., reducing dependence on market income for some basic needs (e.g., health care). In short, greater equality has sustained better social outcomes in terms of health, crime, and educational attainment.*[20]

**Figure 19-8**

What challenges might a continental identity pose for Canada?

20 CBC. "Economic Integration," Documentary special on CBC Newsworld, 7 December 2007. http://www.cbc.ca/empire/integration.html.

Figure 19-9

Should Canada protect its national culture and identity as we develop closer ties with the United States?

## Ideas and Opinions

Professor Jorge Larrain, a well-known sociologist and cultural historian from Chile, believes that a pan-American identity is not only possible but may become reality if Francophones and Latin Americans can work together effectively.

> *In principle I cannot see any big theoretical problem with the idea of constructing a pan-American identity, least of all a problem stemming from the huge cultural diversity of the area … The construction of a pan-American identity may be very difficult, but if there is a path that may eventually lead to it this could start from increasing links between these [Latino and Francophone] minorities and Latin American nations. In as much as Latino identities and Québécois identities could help shape their own countries' identity in the future, their relationships with Latin American countries may contribute to pave the way for a common identity.*[21]
>
> **—Jorge Larrain, "Identity and Diversity: Could a Pan-American Identity Be Constructed?"**

How does Larrain's vision of pan-American identity pose a challenge for Canada's identity in the future?

## Fast Facts

One consequence of increasing economic integration with the US is "brain drain," or the loss of highly skilled workers as a result of a combination of lower taxes, higher wages, greater opportunity, and easier immigration rules in the United States. A report published by the C.D. Howe Institute claims that brain drain cost Canada $7 billion between 1982 and 1996 in lost subsidies to higher education, and an additional $12 billion from 1989 to 1996 in costs to replace better-trained and -paid emigrants to the US with immigrants to Canada.[22]

21 From: http://www.er.uqam.ca/nobel/ieim/IMG/pdf/construire_larrain.pdf.

22 George Hoberg, "Canada and North American Integration," Canadian Public Policy XXVI, supplement 2 (2000): S42. http://economics.ca/cgi/jab?journal=cpp&view=v26s2/CPPv26s2p035.pdf.

## Championing NAFTA

The Canadian Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade championed the freer economic trade instituted by NAFTA in a report in 2003:

*NAFTA has proven to be a resounding success for all three partners. Since its implementation, total merchandise trade between Canada, Mexico and the United States has increased by about 150 per cent (from $374 billion in 1993 to $944 billion in 2002). Total two-way trade between Canada and Mexico has risen by 233 per cent since 1993—despite a 13 per cent fall in Canadian exports to Mexico in 2002.*

*"The NAFTA was a first because it linked two developed countries—Canada and the United States—with Mexico, a developing country," says Deputy Minister [for International Trade Len] Edwards. "The ongoing success of the agreement demonstrates that freer trade and investment between developed and developing countries are beneficial for all parties, especially developing ones."*[23]

The same report, however, recognized that Ontario has been the principal beneficiary of freer trade with the United States and Mexico. For example, a government study found that from 1988 to 1999, while wages increased by 12.0 per cent for manufacturing workers in Ontario, they increased by only 1.0 per cent in Québec, 0.8 per cent in Western Canada, and 0.4 per cent in Atlantic Canada.[24]

1. What reasons might the Canadian government have for promoting the benefits of freer trade with the United States?
2. If freer trade with the US is good for some regions of Canada and not others, what effect might this have on the views of national identity in Canada?

How might economic integration with the United States and Mexico affect some of these key economic differences? As the United States is a much larger economic force, how much say will Canada have in developing joint economic policies?

## Global Leadership

*Global leadership* involves individual, regional, national, or multinational actions that provide leadership on issues of global concern. Based on this definition, would you say that Canada is a global leader?

For most of the 1990s and into 2000, Canada ranked number one in the world on the United Nations Human Development Index. In 2006, Canada ranked number six. The Index is a comparative measure of education, life expectancy, literacy, and standard of living. Specific measures of human development for 2006 focused on issues of power, degrees of poverty, and the growing global water crisis. Many Canadians and non-Canadians believe that Canada's high status in this ranking indicates that Canada has an obligation to take on a global leadership role to respond to these issues.

To learn more about the debate over NAFTA, follow the links on the *Perspectives on Nationalism* website.

23 Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, "Canada–US–Mexico Trade Relations," Canada World View 19 (Spring 2003): 6. http://www.dfait-maeci.gc.ca/canada-magazine/issue19/issue19-en.pdf.

24 Statistics Canada, "Study: How Are Canadian Regions Adjusting to a Larger, More Integrated North American Market?" The Daily, 31 May 2006. http://www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/060531/d060531b.htm.

Global leadership means more than exercising economic or military power. Canada's role for the future could encompass leadership in the globalization of education, health care, human rights, and peace. Canada's strengths are important in a world growing more interlinked through the forces of globalization.

**Pause and Reflect**

**In what ways might the demand for Canadian leadership in global issues have an effect on Canadian identity?**

## Ideas and Opinions

*"We are destined to lead. If a world without borders is going to bring people, cultures and societies into closer and deeper contact, whether by benign intent or malevolent design, our world needs some assurance that all humans can indeed live together and flourish. If not our example, whose?"*

**—Satya Das, *The Best Country: Why Canada Will Lead the Future* (Edmonton, AB: Cambridge Strategies Inc., 2002), p. 17.**

Do you share Satya Das's vision for the future of Canadian identity? To what extent is he right in saying that Canada is an example of how "all humans can indeed live together and flourish"? Who might disagree with this statement? Why?

## Is Canada a Success Story?

Is Canada successful as a country? How do you judge a country's success? By its economy? Its foreign policy? The relationships among its people? Consider these questions as you review the following opinions on the success of Canada as a nation.

In the following quotation, former Governor General Adrienne Clarkson talks about Canada's success:

*It is a strength and not a weakness that we are a permanently incomplete experiment built on a triangular foundation—Aboriginal, Francophone and Anglophone. What we continue to create today, began 450 years ago as a political project, when the French first met with the Aboriginal people. It is an old experiment, complex and, in worldly terms, largely successful. Stumbling through darkness and racing through light, we have persisted in the creation of a Canadian civilization.*[25]

In his article "A Working Non-Nation," teacher and writer Michael Bliss challenges the idea that Canada has become a global leader:

*It can be fairly said that many of the dreams of Macdonald, Laurier, Diefenbaker, even Trudeau, have not come true and are unlikely ever to come true. Economically our destiny appears to be wary, friction-fraught continental integration rather than northern sufficiency. Economic uncertainty is paralleled by cultural and political confusion as polycultural Canada appears to be increasingly unable to develop a sense of national "self" or national interest in global affairs.*[26]

1. Adrienne Clarkson speaks of Canada as an "incomplete experiment." She seems to be suggesting that it is not necessary for Canada to have a clear, single identity. Do you agree? Why or why not?
2. In what ways is Canada falling short of being a global leader? Do you agree with the statement by Michael Bliss?

25 Adrienne Clarkson, 7 October 1999, quoted in Canadian Heritage, "Canadian Diversity: Respecting our Differences, 20 January 2004. http://www.canadianheritage.gc.ca/progs/multi/respect_e.cfm.

26 Michael Bliss, "A Working Non-Nation," *The National Post*, 24 March, 2006. http://www.vigile.net/article235.html.

## Explore the Issues

1. List the various ideas on Canada's international identity discussed in this section. What are the challenges posed by these visions?
2. How does Canada's role internationally affect national identity? How is Canada as a nation perceived on the international stage?
3. To what extent does Canada's international reputation shape your vision of national identity?

# Developing Your Vision of National Identity

*Question for Inquiry*

- **How do you view your identity as a citizen of Canada?**

Now that you have explored Canadian identity as a nation, a nation-state, and a member of the global community, can you define what being *Canadian* means to you? In creating your own definition of Canada's identity, it is important to consider your role as a citizen and your participation in the country of Canada.

Between the citizens of a country and the government is a *social contract*—an agreement, written or unwritten, to form a society based on agreed-upon ethical and political principles, often incorporated into rules and laws. Consider your own beliefs about what this contract is or what it should be as you complete the following Investigation.

## Examining your Role as a Citizen of Canada

Responding to a vision of Canada requires you to take action or be an active citizen. Active citizenship requires that citizens understand both their rights and responsibilities. As you formulate your vision for Canada's future, consider your responsibilities in making this vision real.

Becoming an active citizen involves affecting the lives of those around you. Think about the opportunities you have to contribute to your community. How might you get involved?

### Fast Facts

One way that any Canadian over the age of 18 can actively participate as a citizen is to join the Canadian Armed Forces. Besides acting on behalf or the country in military and peace missions abroad, the Canadian Forces are active in helping Canadians at home, for example, through the Disaster Assistance Response Team (DART), a quick-response team of 400 personnel who can get to disaster locations in Canada quickly and help those in distress.

INVESTIGATION

## A New Social Contract

***Something to Think About:*** Suppose Canadians began to urge the government to consider a new, unwritten social contract. What might be the updated roles and responsibilities of civil society, the government, and business?

***An Example:*** In the fall of 2002, Canadian Policy Research Networks and Viewpoint Learning invited a representative sample of 408 Canadians to take part in dialogue sessions in which they considered Canada's future and created their own visions for "the kind of Canada we want" in ten years' time. The participants were asked to reflect on how their visions could be achieved and to describe who should be responsible for making them happen. The resulting report "shows that Canadians are ready to revise the roles and responsibilities of governments, business, communities and citizens themselves," forming a new unwritten social contract to shape Canada's future.

***Research Results:*** The following conclusions were drawn based on these dialogue sessions:[27]

**civil society:** a society based on voluntary civic and social organizations and institutions, as opposed to state structures that are enforced in some way, or commercial institutions

- Markets are no longer seen as separate from and even opposed to **civil society**. Instead, they are now seen as an integral part of a working society, serving public as well as private interests, with market values being integrated into Canadians' notions of civil society and social equity. At the same time, citizens are pragmatic about the limitations of both markets and governments. Canadians are comfortable with a relatively high degree of economic individualism, as long as individuals continue to demonstrate that they care about others around them.
- Citizens see themselves as active participants in governance. They have moved toward greater self-reliance and are demanding a voice. Despite some cynicism, there is a keen desire for more active involvement in public affairs. Citizens insist on greater accountability on the part of governments, business, and other institutions, and are willing to assume greater responsibility and accountability themselves. They want to see more responsive governments that foster ongoing dialogue with and between citizens.

27 Adapted from Mary Pat MacKinnon, Judith Maxwell, Steven Rosell, and Nandini Saxena, *Citizens' Dialogue on Canada's Future: A 21st Century Social Contract* (Ottawa: Canadian Policy Research Networks, 2003), pp. iv–v. http://www.cprn.com/documents/19110_en.pdf.

- Canadians have learned that when diversity is treated as an end in itself, it can conflict with core Canadian values. So, their respect for diversity is strongly affirmed, but is now seen as an important part of (and limited by) a broader set of core Canadian values.
- Canadians share a remarkably consistent set of values from coast to coast. As citizens discover how much they have in common, a strong sense of pride in their shared community and identity is kindled. This distinctive values base provides an essential foundation on which Canadians and their governments can build a community.

1. What is implied about Canada's multiculturalism policy by the third bullet under "Research Results"? Does this reflect a belief in pluralism?
2. If you were to write a social contract for all Canadians, what ideas would you include? Consider the issues related to defining a Canadian identity in your answer.

Political scientists use the term *cultural capital* to describe the benefits of building community. Cultural capital is created by strengthening bonds between individuals in the community. In doing so, community members are more able to empathize with and support others. Cultural capital creates a sense of connection so that people do not act with narrow self-interest.

Responsible citizenship also requires you to understand that there are collective consequences for individual actions. When you act based on your vision of Canada, your actions will have an impact on others. Promoting tolerance, acceptance, and inclusion—as well as speaking out with others against injustices—are other aspects of being a responsible citizen.

Figure 19-10 ▲

To what extent should citizens be directly involved in governance? Who should be working toward a vision of future Canadian identity—the citizens or the governments? Do you see yourself as active in governance issues?

◀ Figure 19-11

Volunteer students work on voter pins for their upcoming student election.

How should you respond when you oppose a particular vision of Canada? In democracies, there is a principle called *consent of the governed*. This means that governments must be supported by the majority of people if they are to act. Citizens have the right to *dissent*, or speak out against the government or the majority views—this is one of Canada's fundamental freedoms, and empowers you to speak out when an idea is put forward that you oppose. This freedom may not promote social cohesion, but it is crucial for promoting equality.

## Explore the Issues

1. Suppose you were asked to participate in the Citizens' Dialogue on Canada's Future, and were asked to provide evidence that Canadians share certain core values. Indicate what evidence you have that suggests these values are part of your life and your community's practice.

2. In a small group, consider the definitions of Canadian identity that have been presented in this chapter. Select or create your own definition of Canadian identity. Illustrate it in a visual format and present it to the class.

| Core value | Evidence you reflect this value |
|---|---|
| 1. Shared community | |
| 2. Equality and justice | |
| 3. Respect for diversity | |
| 4. Mutual responsibility | |
| 5. Accountability | |
| 6. Democracy | |

## Reflect and Analyze

This chapter has presented you with a number of perspectives on Canadian identity and some views of a possible Canadian future. Use these diverse ideas about Canada's identity to shape your own vision of Canada for the future. Your vision of Canada should remain fluid and open to change as you continue to explore alternative perspectives and deepen your understanding of what it means to be Canadian.

### Respond to Ideas

1. In a small group, discuss the following question: Is it possible for citizens to consciously contribute to a common vision of a future Canada?

   Develop a list of recommendations for Heritage Canada, the department responsible for policies and programs that promote Canadian content, cultural

participation, and activities that strengthen connections among Canadians. Your recommendations should outline how to encourage citizens to help shape a common vision for the country.

## Respond to Issues

2 After reading this chapter, you should be able to make a few of your own predictions with regard to a vision of Canada's future. Revisit the predictions you made in this chapter's Skill Path. Has your view of national Canadian identity in the future changed as a result of the perspectives described in this chapter?

## Recognize Relationships between Concepts, Issues, and Citizenship

3 In 1916, Italian dissident Antonio Gramsci wrote: "What comes to pass does so not so much because a few people want it to happen, as because the mass of citizens abdicate their responsibility and let things be."[28]

Who is responsible for bringing about a vision of Canada—individuals, government, or organizations? Investigate how a vision of Canada has evolved in the past. Research one of the following:

- the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism
- the Canadian Bill of Rights
- the road to universal voting rights (for information on this topic, follow the link on the *Perspectives on Nationalism* website)
- another example of government legislation that changed Canada and its citizenship

a) Determine who was responsible for initiating the action, movement, or legislation. Was it individuals, organizations, or government?

b) Describe how the example you chose resulted in a change to government policy.

c) Explain how the example you chose redefined the notion of being *Canadian*.

d) From what you have learned in this investigation, develop guidelines to direct the actions of or encourage people who seek to pursue a vision of Canada. Present your information in a way that will persuade your classmates not to "abdicate their responsibility and let things be." SKILLS

## A Final Task

The Main Issue for Part 4 of this text is: ***To what extent should individuals and groups in Canada embrace a national identity?*** Any issue allows for a broad range of possible responses and well-reasoned positions. Compose a position paper on this issue in which you

- consider at least two positions on this issue—one that you can support and one with which you disagree
- develop each position, presenting their arguments as fairly and as thoroughly as possible; use information from previous chapters or from any other source
- incorporate scenarios demonstrating the likely outcome of each position
- present your reasons for rejecting one position and for supporting the other
- conclude with a convincing restatement of your position.

28 From: http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/2WWgramsci.htm.